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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 489.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karahiba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[18] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[18] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] [598] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 648 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 648 186 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 186 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 574 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were [602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[8]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was [illegible]ted.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[8] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 954 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

[186]

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

[123]

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood. 881 304

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine. [264] [278]

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping. 88 856 304 826

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites. 881 278 856

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied. 881 304 [48] [56]

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms. [553]

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly." [171] [826] [186]

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced. [866]

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along 881 866

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would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kamayurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes consisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 59) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

B /191 cont./
171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

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[283] The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

BO
[291]
Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on
B the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable
T that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at
[186] any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely